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THE MIDDLE COLUMBIA SALISH

HISTORICAL AND GEOGRAPHICAL

I spent only a few days among these people in 1908, and did not revisit them. My time was taken up collecting a vocabulary of their language, and information regarding their former tribal territory. This information seemed to be specially important, owing to contact with Shahaptian tribes and rumored shifting of boundaries. I therefore made as full inquiry as possible on this subject among them and all their neighbors, both Salish and Shahaptian. I obtained, besides, a little information regarding movements of tribes from Wasco, some from Peter Kalama, a Nisqualli who lived for many years on the Warm Springs Reservation, and some from Michel Revais. I did not visit the Wenatchi and northwestern bands at this time, as I expected to make a special trip among them later to investigate their basketry, and the like. Incidentally I happened to meet a man of the Wenatchi, and gathered a little information from him; but the bulk of my information was obtained from Moses-Columbia on the Colville Reservation.

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TRIBES OF THE GROUP

The Middle Columbia Salish group consists of two tribes: viz., (1) Columbia, (2) Wenatchi. Possibly at one time there may have been a third tribe, the .nkutɛmɛ'x[a] or Nekɛtɛmɛ'ux of The Dalles country. However, the affiliations of this tribe (now probably extinct) are uncertain.[1]

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ORIGIN OF TRIBAL NAMES

The name Columbia originated because of the former association of the tribe with Columbia River, where some of the most important bands had their homes. The common name for the Columbia in the early middle of last century was Rapide du Prêtre, or Priest's Rapids People, and Rapid People, names originally applied to the people of Priest's Rapids, who were considered the principal band of the tribe at that time. According to Michel Revais, Priest's Rapids was named by the fur-traders from an incident which occurred there. One of the first parties of fur-traders to pass the river at this point was surrounded by a large number of Indians, one of whom (probably a shaman) "made medicine," or went through a religious ceremony on the hillside, attracting the attention of the travellers by his fantastic dress and wild gesticulations. They called him a priest, and the rapids at this place became known as Priest's Rapids. The tribe was also called Isle de Pierre, or Rock Island People, by some traders, probably also from the name of a place in their country.[2] Other names for the Columbia used by the traders and whites were Sinkiuse or Sincayuse, derived from their own name; and Columbia Cayuse, in distinction from the Cayuse tribe (Waiilatpuan?), who were sometimes called Nez Percé Cayuse. The two tribes called Cayuse require to be

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[1] See p. 96.

[2] This may also have been derived from the name of an important band. Rock Island is on the Columbia a little above Cabinet Rapids, below the mouth of the Wenatchee. A large band of Indians is said to have lived around here.

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differentiated. The name Wenatchi is, with little doubt, of Yakima origin, probably from Wina't.ca (river issuing from a conyon), referring to Wenatchee River;[3] or from Klickitat awena'tchɛla (coming out or source), said to be with reference to the position of the tribe above or beyond the Yakima and at the sources of the streams;[4] but the term may have some connection with Wenatchee River. Pisquows (and variations) was also a common name for the Wenatchi, and is derived from their own name. 173 101

The Middle Columbia Salish (or at least the Moses-Columbia) call themselves .tskowā'xtsɛnux or .skowa'xtsɛnɛx, which word seems to have some connection with "main valley," probably with reference to the Columbia valley. My notes do not make it clear whether the term embraces all the Columbia people or simply the Moses-Columbia, most of whom originally lived on the river, near Priest's Rapids. It appears that the Wenatchi and people on the west side of the river are not included in the term. The Columbia also use the name .nkeĕus or .s.nkeiĕus for themselves in a general sense, and the Moses-Columbia recognize it as applied to them by all the other Salish tribes. They say, however, that the term is properly and originally the name of a band or division of their people who once inhabited the Umatilla valley. A few of the Moses-Columbia include the Wenatchi under the names Columbia and .nkeĕ'us, because they speak the same language and are supposed to be of the same origin; but most Columbia, as well as all other Salish, class the Wenatchi as a distinct tribe. The Wenatchi call themselves .s.npeskwa'uɪux, and are so called by the Moses-Columbia. The name appears to be used in a general sense for all the people speaking the language of the Middle Columbia Salish west of Columbia River. It also seems to be in a special sense the name for the people of Wenatchee River and district, who were the leading division of the tribe.

NAMES GIVEN BY NEIGHBORING TRIBES

The Columbia and Wenatchi are called by the following names by the neighboring Indian tribes:

By Salish Tribes	Columbia	Wenatchi
Thompson	s.nkaiă'us, Nqaiĕ'us, .s.nkeiĕ'usɛmux	.s.npɛskwă'ustɛmux
Okanagon	.s.nkeiĕ'us, .s.nqai.ă'us	.npiskwă'u.six
Sanpoil	.s.nkaă'usɛmɛx	.s.npɛskwă'uzɛx
Colville, Lake	.s.nqeĕ'us	
Spokane, Kalispel	.s.nqaiĕ'us, .s.nkaiĕ'use	.s.npɛskwĕ'us
Pend d'Oreilles, Flathead	.s.nkaiă'use	.s.npɛskwă'use
Cœur d'Alêne	.s.nkeie'usɛms	.npɛsqwe'us

[3] See *Handbook of American Indians*, p. 932.
[4] See p. 91, note 7.

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	By other Interior Tribes	
Wasco	Ti'atthuxa[5]	Wina't.ca
Klickitat		Awena'tchzla (people[7] at the coming-out or source)
Nez Percé	Papspê'lu[9] (firs or fir-tree people)	
	By Coast Tribes	
Snohomish	Bō'tcacɛd[9] (arrows or arrow people)	Tsō'kwob.c
Snohomish	.sā'ladebc,[10] an interior tribe west of the Columbia River (south or below the Yakima)	
Snohomish	Suwa'dabc (inland or interior people)	general names for all interior tribes
Twana	.swā'dab.c (inland people)	
Nootsak	.swa'namc (inland people)	

The Klickitat call the Chelan Tczla'lpam, and the White Bluffs people Wa'napam.[11] According to the Cœur d'Alêne, the name in the sign language for the Columbia is squeezed, or wedged ("with reference to their having been pressed or squeezed between other tribes," as some say); and for the Wenatchi, bent or broken joint. Whether these terms have been given owing to some peculiarities of the tribes, or have been derived from translations of place-names, is not clear. Possibly they are due to folk etymology. [198]

[5] Said to be the name for a tribe on the east side of Columbia, west of the Spokane, probably the Moses-Columbia.

[6] From the Yakima language.

[7] Said to be with reference to their occupying the country at the heads of the rivers or above the Yakima. Bands of Wenatchi occupied the heads of all the streams between the Yakima and the Cascades.

[8] Compare Yakima name for the Kalispel (*Handbook of American Indians*).

[9] A tribe in the interior, west of or near the Spokane, probably the Columbia, but possibly the Palous or some other tribe. Another name for them was warriors. Their principal village or headquarters was called Bo'lbol, and they sometimes attacked the Snohomish and Coast people.

[10] Probably the Shallatoo, a band or division of the Wenatchi formerly living on the upper Klickitat River (probably before the Klickitat spread there), and latterly farther north (see *Handbook of American Indians*). It is hardly likely that the .s.nia'ltmtnic (Pend d'Oreilles) are meant.

[11] Said to mean distant or people at the end or extremity. Compare the name of Wenatchi, also the Klickitat name Wanakshila' (with the same meaning) applied to the Puyallup, and the name Wanu'kt applied to the Tai'tnapam.

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NAMES GIVEN OTHER TRIBES

The Columbia call the neighboring tribes by the following names, in which the suffixes *-e*, *-ɛx*, *-ox*, *-uẓ*, *-mɛx*, *-mexᵘ*, *-mēuẓ*, *-mix*, *-muẓ*, *ɛmuẓ*, *-ɛms*, *-amc*, *-abc*, mean people:[12] 101

Interior Salish Tribes

Shuswap	Siẋwa'pmɛx
Thompson	Lükɛtame'ux, Nẹkụtame'uẋ[13]
Similkameen	Smilkɛmī'x, Smelkamī'x
Okanagon	.s.oqɛnāqai'mɛx (said to be from a place-name)
Nespilem, Sanpoil	Nesilɛxtcī'n, .n.selixtcī'n, (probably "Salish-speaking")
Lake	.s.nai'tcɛkstɛx (?)
Colville	.sxuiê'lpɛm, .sxuiê'lpɛmɛx (said to be from a place-name)
Spokan	Spō.qei'muẓ (said to be from a place-name)
Kalispel	Kalispa'lɛm (thought to be from a place-name)
Pend d'Oreilles	.s.nia'lɛmɛn (?) (said to be from a place-name)
Flathead	Sa'lɛmuẓ
Cœur d'Alêne	.ski'tztsu
Salish tribe formerly near The Dalles	.nkutɛmē'xᵘ, Nekɛtɛmē'uẓ (same name as applied to the Thompson Indians)

Shahaptian Tribes

Palous	.spalū'.soẓ (said to be from a place-name)
Yakima	.siā'kɛma
Klickitat	Tikā'tat
Wallawalla	.swalawa'laox (said to be from a place-name)
Umatilla	.sumatê'lamux
Nez Percé	Tsha'ptɛnox

Other Western Tribes

Kutenai	Shalsā'ulkᵘ (said to be from a place-name)
Cayuse	Kaie'us, .skeiē'us (said to be from name of Umatilla valley or a place there)

[12] I obtained no list from the Wenatchi.

[13] There are several slightly variant pronunciations.

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Shoshoni or Snake	.s.naske'n.tkox (said to mean "snake people")
Klamath	Ła'mał
Wishram	Wi'sxam
Wasco	Wasqo'pɛm
Chinook	Tsɛnū'k
All Coast Indians	Sukɛti'kɛnux̣, Sukoti'kɛnux̣ ("people of opposite or other side," with reference to the Cascades)
Lower Fraser tribe	.sLɛmsiū'ɛx
Another Coast tribe	Qo'ɛtsɛn (possibly the Cowichan)

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DIALECTS

The Middle Columbia language, on the whole, seems to be more closely related to the Okanagon or central group than to other Salish groups; but it has some peculiarities of its own, and in some points rather resembles the Cœur d'Alêne, and even the Flathead group. In others, again, it is closer to the Thompson and Shuswap of the north. The pronunciation of a number of words resembles that of the Thompson rather than that of the Okanagon. The Wenatchi, Chelan, and Methow, occupying the country west of Columbia River, differ slightly in their speech and in the use of a few words from one another and from those who live east of the river, viz., the Moses-Columbia. Probably the difference is not much greater than that existing between the Upper and Lower Thompson, which is very slight. The Methow are said to talk more nearly like the Okanagon than other Columbia Salish, and use some words and phrases which probably have been adopted from the latter. It is likely that some other slightly diverging dialects were spoken by Columbia bands living farther south, who are now extinct.

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HABITAT AND BOUNDARIES[14]

1. The Columbia Salish (Tskowāxtsɛnux̣ or .nkeĕus) occupied the Columbia River valley on both sides, from probably some little distance below the mouth of the Wenatchee River (say, about Cabinet Rapids), south to a little below Priest's Rapids and in former days down to near The Dalles, and all the adjoining plateau east of the river, from the confines of the Sanpoil, south along the borders of the Spokane, to the Palous country near the Snake River, and possibly in former days to the boundaries of the Nez Percé.

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2. The Wenatchi (or .s.npeskwau'zux̣) occupied the Columbia valley immediately above the Columbia Salish, north to about half way between the mouths of the Methow and Okanagon Rivers, and embracing all the country on the west side of the Columbia to the Cascades and a little beyond in some places, from the boundaries of the Thompson tribe in the north, to the Yakima in the south and probably in early times to the Columbia bands occupying the country east of The Dalles adjoining the Upper Chinook.

[14] See map in *The International Journal of American Linguistics*, vol. 4 and 41st Annual Report Bureau of American Ethnology.

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DIVISIONS AND BANDS

I did not try to get a list of former Columbia Salish and Wenatchi bands, but no doubt these tribes were composed of a number of loosely connected bands (possibly grouped into divisions) with headquarters in different localities. Some of the Columbia divisions or bands were as follows:

1. The .nkeē'us or .s.nkeiē'usoχ of Umatilla valley.
2. The Stia'KETEMUχ or Tiä'KETUχ[35] at the mouth and the lower part of Yakima River, and in the Columbia valley some distance above and below.
3. The Stata'KETUχ,[36] with headquarters around White Bluffs on the Columbia.
4. The .tskowä'XTSENUχ or .skowa'XTSENEX[37] of Priest's Rapids and neighborhood. The band now called Moses-Columbia represents these people, and in fact consists of the remnants of all the Columbia who inhabited the Columbia Valley and east side of Columbia River. Most of them are by origin Priest's Rapids people. They are named after Moses,[38] their late celebrated chief. After the introduction of the horse, this band became famous as horsemen, warriors, and buffalo-hunters.

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[35] This term may possibly have a wider meaning, and may include all the bands along the Columbia, below Priest's Rapids. The Sanpoil have a name Nai'akutchtn or .niä'qrtctn, which appears to have been applied to all the Indians living along Columbia River from the Wenatchi to near The Dalles. The term is said to have been applied to Salish or Columbia speaking bands, but in later days probably included Yakima bands who superseded them. This name seems to be the same as that of the tribe called Akai-chie by Hunt, who found them inhabiting the country around the mouth of the Umatilla River, January, 1812. He describes them as scantily clad, using mantles of skins of animals, and sometimes pairs of sleeves of wolf skins. He further states, "Their lodges were shaped like a tent, and very tight and warm, being covered with mats of rushes; beside which they had excavations on the ground, lined with mats, and occupied by the women, who were even more slightly clad than the men. These people subsisted chiefly by fishing; having canoes of a rude construction, being merely the trunks of pine trees split, and hollowed out by fire. Their lodges were well stored with dried salmon, and they had great quantities of fresh salmon-trout of an excellent flavor, taken at the mouth of the Umatilla." These people differed very much from the Sciatogas and Tus-che-pas whom Hunt had met just previously on the upper Umatilla (probably the Cayuse and allied tribes). These Akai-chie were possibly a part of the Columbia tribe still inhabiting the lower Umatilla and neighboring parts of the Columbia River at that date (see Irving's *Astoria*, ch. XXXVII; also *Handbook of American Indians*, p. 32). The suffix -tcn in .nia'KETCN means, no doubt, shore (banks of a river or lake or a valley). The root part of the word is evidently iä'k, which seems to be the same as occurs in iäkuna and stia'KET, etc.

[36] Possibly the same name as No. 2.

[37] This term possibly has a wider meaning (see p. 90).

[38] Chief Moses was the best-known and most celebrated chief in his time in eastern Washington. He was over six feet tall, very straight, and weighed in later life, when he had become rather stout, about three hundred pounds. He possessed great influence over all the neighboring tribes and was noted for his wisdom and power of oratory. He was also a great linguist, speaking all the Salish dialects, several of the Shahaptian, and some of the Plains languages. His father, Skate'lko, was also a remarkable chief. He was killed in a battle with the Blackfoot. Moses died an old man, about 1905-06, and was buried at Nespilem, on the Colville Reservation, close to where Chief Joseph was buried in 1904. Mr. McCrossan, former agent at Nespilem, who knew both chiefs well, was of the opinion that Chief Moses was really the greater chief of the two, at least in most respects. He also wielded most power among the Indians, and his word received most attention.

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The Wenatchi (or .s.npeskwau'zux) were also divided into a number of bands. As far as I know these were: 621 131

1. The Sme'thau, or Methow, on Methow River and surrounding country.
2. The Tselē'n, .stcxlē'nex, or Chelan, on Chelan Lake and neighborhood.
3. The .s.npeskwau'zux, or Wenatchi proper, on Wenatchi River.

What was probably a fourth division or distinct band, or possibly a subdivision of No. 3, lived south of the Wenatchi Mountains, on the north Yakima, with headquarters around Ellensburg or possibly lower down. This division is said to have been large at one time, and commanded the Snoqualmie, Yakima, and all the principal passes through the Cascades, including those to the Cowlitz country. Some of these people are said to have lived still farther south at one time, on other branches of the upper Yakima and the Klickitat River; but they intermarried so much with Yakima that they became absorbed by the latter. They may possibly have formed a division by themselves, and were probably the original inhabitants of the upper and central parts of the Yakima country. It is said that the remnants of some small bands of Salish (probably all .s.npeskwau'zux or Wenatchi) who were mixed with Yakima joined with the latter in the treaty of 1855; and their descendants are now on the Yakima Reserve, and speak the Yakima language.[19] A few families still live around Ellensburg; but it seems that nearly all the Wenatchi-speaking people south of the Wenatchi Mountains are now mixed to some extent with Yakima.[20] 101 621 131

[19] See also Powell, who states, referring to Salish, "including a dozen small tribes upon the Yakima Reservation which have been consolidated with the Klickitat [Shahaptian] through intermarriage" (Powell, *Indian Linguistic Families*, Seventh Annual Report, Bureau of [American] Ethnology, 105).

[20] The *Handbook of American Indians* gives some bands of the Pisquows, with their old locations, as follows:

1. Camiltpaw—On east side of Columbia River.
2. Siapkat—On east side of Columbia River, near Bishop Rock and Milk Creek.
3. Squannaroo (Skwana'ne)—On Yakima River, opposite the entrance of Selah Creek. Found by Lewis and Clark in 1805, on Cataract (or Klickitat) River, north of the Big Narrows.
4. Skaddal (Ska'utal)—Found by Lewis and Clark in 1806 on Cataract (or Klickitat) River, 25 miles north of the Big Narrows. Later they seem to have been living about Boston Creek and Kahchass Lake.
5. Shanwappom (or Pewa'nwāpam)—Found by Lewis and Clark in 1805 on the head waters of Cataract (Klickitat) River and Tapteel (Yakima) River. Their name is said to refer to a "shoal" in Yakima River above Ellensburg. This is a Shahaptian name and the people speak now a dialect of the Yakima.
6. Shallatoo (or W'shā'natu)—Described by Lewis and Clark in 1805 as living on Cataract River. Name thought to be from that of a site on Yakima River above Ellensburg.

Bands 1 and 2, living on the east side of the Columbia River, may have been .s.nkeē'us or Columbia, and not Wenatchi. It is likely that remnants of these bands are now among the Moses-Columbia. Bands 3-6 were with little doubt some of the Wenatchi bands forming part of the division who lived south of the Wenatchi Mountains and occupied the central and upper Yakima country south to Klickitat River. In 1805-06 they seem to have still been in possession of the upper Klickitat River; the Klickitat, it appears, being at this date south, southwest, and southeast of them. At a later date the Klickitat controlled and overran all the river, the remnants of these people, after being decimated by disease, retiring to the mountains around the Naches and Kachess Lakes, where a few are said still to live. Some of them may have been absorbed by Klickitat and Yakima.

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In the Salish tribe of The Dalles[21] (.nkutɛme'xᵘ, Nekɛtɛme'uχ) I include the Salish-speaking tribe said to have occupied formerly the Columbia valley near The Dalles.[22] This tribe was not reckoned by the Columbia as part of themselves. It was classed as a distinct tribe, and popularly considered to be related to the Thompson Indians, or at least to have spoken a language similar to theirs. According to tradition, a long time ago the tribe had a quarrel, and divided, part of them migrating north (following Columbia River, according to some). According to some stories, these emigrants again divided somewhere in the middle of the Columbia country, part of them crossing the Cascades to the Coast country, where they settled, and finally disappeared as a tribe. Those who remained near The Dalles dwindled away, and also finally disappeared as a tribe. It is thought that most of them were killed off by plagues or epidemics which seem to have visited the river about the end of the eighteenth and early part of the nineteenth century, when the Columbia tribe was first decimated. Most Columbia and Sanpoil people believe, however, that a few individuals of them still survive, and may occasionally be met with in the Wasco country and also further north in the interior, and again west of the Cascades.[23] Some informants seem to believe that the Thompson Indians of British Columbia are descendants of the part of this tribe that went north. Others, again, think that the original home of all the Thompson was in the central part of the country; and that after the quarrel, one part went north and became the Thompson Indians, and the other part went south and became the tribe near The Dalles.[24] It is also reported by the Columbia that there remains a band, now numbering about

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[21] This is evidently the same tribe as that mentioned by Ross (1855) as Necootimeigh, a tribe formerly living at The Dalles of the Columbia in Oregon (see *Handbook of American Indians*, p. 50).

[22] Opinions differ a great deal as to the exact location of the tribe, but all agree that they lived near or above The Dalles. I obtained the following locations from three or more informants: (1) around The Dalles or east of The Dalles; (2) in the Wishram country or near the Wishram; (3) in the Wishram or the Wasco country, or near one or both of these tribes; (4) on both sides of the Columbia, a little distance or some distance above The Dalles, but chiefly on the north side some little distance back from the river; (5) chiefly or entirely on the south side of the river, somewhere between the mouth of the Deschutes and The Dalles. Perhaps they had more than one settlement (it is thought two main settlements), and may have occupied a considerable extent of country along the river. Current tradition says that the tribe was originally in two camps about fifteen or twenty miles apart. Some think the remnants of the tribe remaining on the Columbia settled among The Dalles Indians and Wasco. One informant said that this tribe was the same as the Wishram, or formerly lived with the Wishram, but that their name was the same as that of the Thompson Indians. Another informant stated that the place they once inhabited was called .sko'pa or qō'pa (Wasco ?), and later a few of them (probably a remnant) went to Na'pxwa (Lapwai ?) or Nā'p.a. .sqa'pa means "sandy" in the Thompson language, and there is a place of that name in the Thompson tribe generally written Skuppa. [101]

[23] Individuals of the tribes in ones, twos, and threes are reported as having been met in recent years on the Columbia or near The Dalles, in the Wasco country, at Lapwai, and at the Puyallup hop-fields. I tried to find some of them around The Dalles, Hood River, and Pendleton (Umatilla Reservation) in 1908, but did not succeed.

[24] See traditions of this tribe and migrations collected from Nespilem and Columbia; also compare Sapir *Wishram Texts* (Publications of the American Ethnological Society, 2, 204–205), where Wishram have a quarrel and separate, a part of them going to the Wenatchi country and at last beyond; and the Thompson tradition of Nkai'a people quarrelling and separating, part of them going to the Wenatchi or Columbia country.

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twenty individuals, who speak the Thompson language or a dialect nearly the same (they also speak Columbia), who live somewhere in the country to the north, not far from Columbia River, and within twenty-five miles of a place called Prairo (? possibly Pateros). Some Thompson claim that the last-named people are probably descendants of a band of Indians from Nkai'a, near Lytton, who left their country as the result of a quarrel, and finally located near the Columbia about a hundred and fifty or more years ago, and therefore are not connected with any Dalles tribe.[22]

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POPULATION

Owing to lack of information on the number of Columbia Salish and Wenatchi bands and their locations, the early dates at which the tribes were decimated by disease and were pushed out of their southern territory, and the absorption of portions of the tribes by the Yakima and others, it is difficult to collect sufficient data to give any fair estimate of their numbers when at their greatest strength. The Columbia and Wenatchi themselves, as well as the Sanpoil and others, agree that both tribes were one time very numerous. They claim that through disease and wars they are now mere remants of what was once the largest of tribes. In the early part of the last century several hundred Indians made their headquarters around Priest's Rapids alone, and during the salmon-fishing season this number was further augmented to a total of five hundred or more. There are said to have been many such populous place along the river. The chief cause of decrease, at least, in later times, appears to have been small-pox and other epidemics, which have visited them all (or in part, at least) four times, carrying off, it is said, thousands. The first epidemic occurred about 1800, and caused very many deaths.[23] The second one came about 1825, and likewise swept away great numbers. It is also said to have been small-pox. A third one came a little later, with like fatal results. This may have been the pestilence or fever reported to have been brought to the Columbia by a ship, and which spread among the Columbia River tribes, killing many thousands, and depopulating whole villages, about 1830-32. A fourth great epidemic reached the tribe over sixty years ago. This may have been the measles, which killed so many Spokane. It is said to have been introduced by immigrants around 1847. The Indians believe they have also suffered through epidemics before and since those dates, but to a much less extent, and not in every place or band. Considering traditional accounts, and the extent and nature of the country of these tribes in comparison with populations of other tribes in similar country and along salmon-streams, it may be safe to conjecture that the total population of the Columbia group at one time was at

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[22] See Thompson tradition of the migration of Nkai'a people.
[23] Probably the small-pox, which, according to the Flathead, came from the Crow Indians.

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least about ten thousand.[26a] It is also hard to give the exact population of these tribes at the present day, as a number of the Methow, Chelan, and Wenatchi are not on reservations. It appears that all or part of these people were included in the Yakima treaty of 1855; but most of them refused to recognize the treaty as binding on them, because it was made without their consent, and thus very few of them went on the Yakima Reservation. Nominally I believe they are now under the jurisdiction of the Colville agency; but it seems that very few, if any, of the people from the west side of the Columbia, are on the Colville Reservation. In the *Report of the United States Commissioner of Indian affairs for 1905*, 279 Columbia and 93 Wenatchi are included in the Colville agency. The Columbia are the Moses-Columbia band, who have allotments in the south half of the Colville Reservation; but it is not clear whether the Wenatchi enumerated are on the reserve or are those of the tribe who have homesteads and allotments near their old homes. As I have not visited the Methow, Chelan, and Wenatchi countries, I cannot state anything regarding the number of Indians remaining there. A few families of Indians still make their headquarters around Ellensburg.

MIGRATIONS AND MOVEMENTS OF TRIBES

I obtained no traditions of real migrations of the Columbia Salish, except that of the Nekɛtemē'ux tribe, already referred to, but, as said before, they were not recognized as Columbia. What information I gathered, however, shows that considerable movements and migrations of southern tribes took place, resulting in a gradual pushing-back and absorbing of Columbia and Wenatchi bands in the south, and the occupation of all the southern parts of their tribal territories by Shahaptian and Waiilatpuan tribes. These movements may be indicated as follows:

1. An invasion by Shahaptian people, later called Yakima, who appear to have passed through the region of The Dalles, or further east, and gone into the mountains north of Columbia River, whence they gradually moved into the central Yakima valley, and spread up and down that stream.

2. At a later date, a movement of Yakima, or closely related people (either a fraction of the settled Yakima or a part of the former horde), along the north side of the Columbia to near the mouth of the Snake, where they began to occupy both sides of the river north to the White Bluffs, while part of them seem to have proceeded east, occupying the lower Snake and the Palouse, these people later becoming known as Palous.[27]

3. About the same time as the latter movement, or a little later, a second invasion of the same kind of people took place from the country south of the Columbia, following the same route as the first. Most of them also

[26a] See, however, the estimates made by James Mooney, *The Aboriginal Population of America North of Mexico* (Smithsonian Miscellaneous Collections, 80 [1928] No. 7, p. 16). His estimate of 2,200 seems to me too low.—Franz Boas.

[27] Some Columbia refer to the migration as having come down the Yakima from the middle Yakima to the mouth.

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passed into the hills on the north side of the river, but some of them settled in the Columbia valley for some distance east of The Dalles. As the country north of them was already fully occupied by Yakima from the Cascades to the Palouse, these emigrants remained in the intermediate country, ranging between the White Salmon River on the west and Horse Heaven in the east, with headquarters at one time around Glenwood and the central Klickitat River. These people became known as Klickitat, and were for a time important intermediate traders between the tribes of the coast and the interior. They soon began to range farther west, part of them occupying the country west of the Cascades on the Lewis River, and around Mount St. Helens. After the depopulation of the Cowlitz and other Coast and Columbia River tribes by an epidemic, about 1829, large numbers of them moved into the Cowlitz valley. It seems that the Cowlitz were the principal people with whom they traded in the west, and they were most friendly with them. About this time, or probably earlier, bands of Klickitat, possibly exploring for a new country and trading, and other bands of mixed Klickitat and Cowlitz bent on raiding and war, had begun to make excursions north, following the west side of the Cascades back of the more populous areas of the Coast tribes, going as far as the Mount Baker region, where they came in contact with the Thompson Indians. They soon gave up the northern expeditions; and part of them began to go south, crossing the Columbia into the Willamette valley, going sometimes as far as the Umpqua and Rogue Rivers. Those who remained on the Klickitat River and neighborhood now began to occupy parts of the north bank of the Columbia (Chinook territory) in the salmon-fishing season and in the winter, during the rest of the year living back in the mountains; while those who remained west of the Cascades, in the Lewis and Cowlitz districts, made their headquarters around Silverdale [Silver Lake?], and became known as Tai'tnapam or Wanukt. When the main body of the tribe went on the Yakima Reservation (after 1858), some of the Klickitat living on the north side of the Columbia below The Dalles, and some of the Tai'tnapam, remained in the places where they had setteled, and some of them are still to be found there.

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[According to Mr. Melville Jacobs, who studied the Shahaptian Taitnapam near Morton, Washington, in 1926 and 1927, there is no tradition among this tribe of any kind of migration. So far as their memory goes they have been associated with the upper Cowlitz. In the popular use of the term the "upper Cowlitz," (Wanukt) are Shahaptian in language; although the old Cowlitz are undoubtedly Salish. The dialects of the most southern coast Salish of this region bear internal evidences that the Cowlitz were at one time neighbors of the Wenatchi. All the coast dialects beginning with the so called upper Chehalis, and from there northward, use the sounds *tc* in place of the central Salish *k*, and *c* instead of the central Salish *x* or *ẋ*. The Cowlitz belong to what might be called the *k* group of Salish dialects in conformity with the adjoining Wenatchi. Without this contiguity the occurrence of the *k* sounds

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in this isolated group which, in other respects is almost identical with upper Chehalis, could hardly be understood. I presume that the lack of a migration legend indicates that the people are descendants of the early Salish inhabitants who have changed their language.—F. Boas.] 167 197 131

4. It seems that on the heels of the Klickitat, if not part of the same migration, came some of the same kind of people as those who occupied the Columbia on both sides of the river, from The Dalles east to John Day River. Some of them actually settled among the Wishram and Wasco, or occupied places between villages of those tribes. These people were not so numerous as the Yakima and Klickitat, and became known as Tenino or Tɛnai'nu. By some people they were reckoned as part of the Klickitat, and by others as part of the Tyighpam (tai'xpam). These migrations seem to have taken place by way of Deschutes River, from the Tyighpam country or perhaps from farther south.

5. At an early date (whether preceding all or some of these movements, viz., 1 to 4, is uncertain, but probably contemporaneous with some of them) another movement of tribes took place farther east. The Cayuse pushed down the Umatilla to the Columbia, but do not appear to have crossed the latter stream. Later most of them left the Umatilla, and made headquarters on the upper part of the Wallawalla. The Wallawalla were then on the lower Wallawalla and neighboring parts of the south side of the Columbia, between the mouth of the Snake and the Umatilla, but whether they were there previous to the occupation of the Umatilla by the Cayuse, or moved into the region from the south about the same time as the Cayuse moved down the Umatilla, is uncertain. It is also uncertain whether the Wallawalla extended to or occupied any part of the Umatilla before the Cayuse came.

6. A movement of Molala out of the Deschutes and Warm Springs country into the mountains to the west, said to have been caused by attacks of the Snake, and the occupation of this part of their country by Tyighpam, who seem to have come from farther south.

7. A movement of Tyighpam or Tenino, or both, who lived on the south side of the Columbia, east of The Dalles, and most of those who lived in the country back of there as far south as Tygh, Warm Springs, and Shaniko, into the country to the west, along the boundaries of the upper Chinook, across Hood River, and extending as far as Oregon City. This movement took place at the time the Snake came to Columbia River, probably in the early part of the last century.

8. A movement of Snake from the southeast, seemingly in considerable strength, and continuing over a considerable number of years, pressure by them probably causing wholly or in part all the above-mentioned movement of tribes. 167

The northwesterly movement of the Snake seems to have about reached its height in the early years of the last century, probably 1800-30, when large war-parties of them appeared repeatedly on the Columbia River around The Dalles and east of there, attacking the Wasco and other inhabitants.[28] At this 131 721

[28] The Snake are also said to have about this time appeared in the Willamette valley.

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time, it is said, for fear of the Snake, hardly any people lived on the south side of the Columbia between The Dalles and the Umatilla, or possibly nearly to the Wallawalla. It seems likely that these movements occurred at different times throughout the eighteenth century, with the exception of the seventh, which certainly seems to have been later. Perhaps the Yakima migration may have been the earliest, and may have occurred about two hundred years ago. The Klickitat, Tenaino, and Tyigh migrations seem to have followed one another very closely, and all may have been parts of an exodus extending over a period of years. The pressure of the Snake seems to have resulted, first, in a displacement of Shahaptian by them; second, in a displacement of Waiilatpuan tribes either by Shahaptian or Snake, or both; third, in a displacement of Salish tribes by Shahaptian and Waiilatpuan, but chiefly the former.

The Cayuse are said to have lived long ago around the heads of the streams flowing northerly into the Columbia, and east into the Snake, from the region of Deschutes on the west, to the confines of the Nez Percé on the east; some say as far as the head of the Wallawalla and the Tucannon, but this may possibly have been at a later date. They had their headquarters, it is said, on the upper Grande Ronde. The Molala are said to have been in the country west and northwest of them, on the middle Deschutes and Warm Springs, and west in the mountains. It thus seems that the Molala and Cayuse met, or almost met, somewhere on the upper Deschutes; and if this was the case, Waiilatpuan tribes probably extended in a line east and west bordering on the Salish who occupied the Columbia east of The Dalles and the Umatilla. It is not clear whether any of the Molala lived at this time west of the mountains, but it is likely that they did. Some claim that the boundary between them and the Kalapuya was approximately a line almost due south from Oregon City. This may have been an old boundary, or it may have been a later one. Many claim that the Molala were first driven into the mountains and then west of the mountains. Most of them had to cross the Kalapuya country, and for a time took refuge on the head of the Siletz. If the Salish and Waiilatpuan tribes occupied the countries claimed for them in early times, it seems almost certain that the Shahaptian tribes who moved north must have been originally in the country farther south, probably with the Cascade Mountains and the Klamath on their west, the Waiilatpuan on their north, probably the Nez Percé on their northeast, and the Snake on their other boundaries. Whether pressure of the Shahaptian or the Snake, or other causes, resulted in the withdrawal of the Cayuse east and north, is not clear; but it appears that the Shahaptian moving north passed through a kind of gap between the Molala and Cayuse on the Deschutes River. Whether they made this gap, or whether it existed before, is uncertain. It appears that the Molala continued in possession of at least part of their country between the Deschutes and the Cascade Mountains, until, by the disappearance of the Shahaptian, they were left open to attacks by the Snake and were driven into the mountains.

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The Tyighpam, who it seems settled in part of the Molala country, may have been the last part of the wave of Shahaptian migration northwards.

I found informants among the Wishram, Wasco, and the Shahaptian tribes rather vague as to ancient boundaries along the Columbia River. From none of them could I obtain any definite statements on the subject going back farther than about three generations, or about the time of the last wars with the Snake or Paiute.[29] Some of them, however, acknowledged that the Klickitat, or part of the Klickitat, and Tenino, formerly lived south of Columbia River; but owing to attacks of the Snake, and probably other causes, they moved to and across Columbia River among the Wasco and Wishram, and some of them passed far beyond to the west and in other directions. About the same time the Nez Percé, Klamath and Modoc were having wars with the Snake, while the Molala were driven west into the mountains; and the Cayuse, Umatilla, and Wallawalla retired into the Wallawalla district, where they lived together. Later some of them returned to the Umatilla. A large piece of country was left vacant to the south, and for a number of years the south side of the Columbia between Wallawalla and The Dalles was practically devoid of inhabitants.[30]

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The traditions of the Salish appear to be more concise, and to go back farther than those of the neighboring Shahaptian tribes. Moses-Columbia informants assert positively that their tribe extended much farther south and west at one time (seemingly in the middle of the eighteenth century), and that they occupied the valley of the Columbia down to near The Dalles, where they came in contact with Wishram, Wasco, and a Salish tribe said to have spoken a language similar to Thompson, and which they called by the same name as the Thompson River tribe of the north.[31]

North of the river, a little distance back, the Columbia Salish claim to have extended west of The Dalles to the mountains, probably the spurs of the Cascades, in Skamania County, south of Mount Adams. One band, seemingly that called Stata'kɛtux, inhabited the Columbia River around White Bluffs. Another band immediately below occupied the valley for some distance above and below the mouth of the Yakima, and all the lower part of the Yakima River. Either this band or the people living on the Columbia River below Priest's Rapids, as a whole, were called Tiă'kɛtux or Stia'kɛtɛmux. Below the latter were other bands with scattering settlements along the river, in some cases a considerable distance apart.[32] The Columbia Salish claim further that their tribe formerly occupied practically all of the Umatilla valley, which was the headquarters of the .snkeiĕ'us or Columbia proper, from which divi-

[29] Some of the Wasco call the Snake Indians "Paiute," and say that missionaries told them always to call the Snake by this name, as "Snake" was a term of an insulting character.

[30] From information collected from Wasco and Klickitat.

[31] If this tribe occupied the country just east and south of The Dalles and around the mouth of the Deschutes, as some think, it would be right in the way of the Shahaptian migration, and may have suffered accordingly.

[32] Said to have been on both sides, but most settlements and people in the lower part were on the north side.

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...ion or band the tribe as a whole received its name. They say that this name is the old name of the Umatilla country. The Cayuse tribe came in from the south, and displaced the Columbia in the occupation of this valley; and because they lived there, the name also became applied to them.[33] Later the Cayuse, or at least the main portion of them, moved northeast into the Wallawalla district, and afterwards the people since called Umatilla occupied the Umatilla valley. They were a mixture of Wallawalla and Cayuse, and it is likely that they also had Columbia and perhaps Nez Percé elements. During the last century these three tribes (the Umatilla, Cayuse, and Wallawalla) lived together, and came to be regarded as a group by themselves. They intermarried so much that they became practically one people, and their territory was looked upon as one.

The other group of people which occupied parts of the Columbia country was that now known under the tribal names of Klickitat, Yakima, and Palous. They all spoke the same language, and were looked upon as parts of one tribe, or branches of the Yakima. The Columbia Salish claim that the Yakima pushed down the Yakima valley and occupied part of the Columbia River from White Bluffs down to below the mouth of the Yakima, which was formerly inhabited by Columbia. This extension seems to have penetrated east along the north side of the Snake, to the Palouse River, the mouth of which seems to have become the headquarters of the Palous tribe, who were looked upon as an offshoot of the Yakima. They were considered a small and poor tribe by the Cœur d'Alêne and some others, and are said to have depended chiefly on fish and roots;[34] and the same is said of the people at the mouth of the Snake. The Columbia (Moses-Columbia) are not so explicit regarding the movements of the Yakima as of some other invading tribes. Possibly the Yakima first crossed country, and settled in the present Yakima country south of Naches (Na'xtcɛs), in what seems to have been territory of the Wenatchi. As the latter were generally looked upon as a distinct tribe, this may account for lack of knowledge among the Moses-Columbia of any Yakima invasion except from the west down the Yakima River to the Columbia River. The Cowlitz on the west side of the Cascades look upon the Yakima and Klickitat as originally one people, and say they were unknown to them long ago.[35] The Wasco also consider them to be one and the same people, and call them by the same name, "foreigners;" while the Salish tribes consider the Klickitat, and Indians of Columbia River speaking Klickitat, and the Tenino, as simply branches of the Yakima who have separated at different times. It seems that the Klickitat and Tenino were welcomed by the Wasco (at least, in later times) as allies against their common enemy, the Snake.

The exact ancient boundaries between the Spokane and Columbia are rather vague. The Cœur d'Alêne do not seem to know of any time when Columbia boundaries touched theirs. Some of them say that at one time

[33] Compare names for Columbia and Cayuse, pp. 89-92.

[34] This refers more particularly to a band at the mouth of the Palouse, who may have been different from the ordinary Palous Indians, and possibly a Salish remnant.

[35] According to information regarding Klickitat, etc., collected from Coast tribes.

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parties of Columbia came close to their borders on the southwest, and occasionally parties of the two tribes met; that at this time parties of Spokane seldom came south of Cheney or Sprague, but in later days, perhaps after the advent of the horse, they went as far as Ritzville, and sometimes Colfax. Spokane are also said to have camped on Cow Creek, and their parties often went right to the mouth. Colfax was considered to be in Palous country, at least, in later days, but was to some extent within both Coeur d'Alêne and Nez Percé spheres of influence. It seems not improbable that at one time the narrow strip of Palous country above the mouth of the Palouse was neutral ground, the contiguous tribes of Columbia, Spokane, Cœur d'Alêne, and Nez Percé each making use to some extent of the part lying nearest to them. This neutral strip, and previous decimation of the Columbia population by disease, would make the expansion of the Yakima or Palous in this direction very easy. 167 131

I collected the following information regarding the former territory of the Columbia Salish from the late Mr. Thomas McCrossan.[84] During my conversations with him on the Indians, he told me he had resided nine years at Nespilem. During that time he had been in intimate association with the Moses-Columbia, and was particularly well acquainted with their chief, Moses, his brother Kweĕ'tca, or Kwoiĕ'tsa (Blue-Robe), and other old men of the tribe. He said that some of the old men had often related to him a great deal concerning the early history of their tribe, which included a statement that their tribe at one time occupied all the Columbia River down to The Dalles. He had become interested in their statements, and had made inquiry from time to time among them regarding their claims. He said they all agreed, and reiterated very emphatically, that they formerly had possession of the country to and beyond The Dalles. He had not tried to get any approximate date for this occupation (if any had been mentioned, he had forgotten it), but he had received the impression that the occupation spoken of was not very long ago. The sum of the information he obtained was as follows. At one time the Columbia tribe occupied all of the Columbia River valley south of their recent boundaries to the upper or eastern borders of the tribes at The Dalles. Their boundary there was very near The Dalles; and the lowest band of Columbia Salish lived not very far east of this point, probably only a few miles up the river. The Indian name of the place was given, but was not remembered by Mr. McCrossan. Large numbers of Columbia from farther up came annually at a certain season to trade at The Dalles with the tribes there, and some of them appear to have come in canoes. Columbia territory extended west, close at the back of The Dalles tribes, on the north or right bank of the river, to some mountains and rivers, probably Klickitat and White Salmon Rivers. 115 167 131

[84] I met the late Mr. McCrossan first on the Colville Reservation in 1908, when he was farmer or sub-agent at Nespilem under Capt. Webster. I am obliged to him for helping me locate the best Indian informants among the Sanpoil and Columbia and for other courtesies. The last time I met him was in 1910, when he was in charge of the Quinault Indians in western Washington. During my stay on the reserve, I lived with him, and was again indebted to him and Mrs. McCrossan for many kindnesses.

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The Indian names were given for the places or rivers. This old territory of the Columbia,[87] he said, embraced all the country east of the Cascades occupied by Klickitat, Yakima, and Palous. He understood that this included all the Yakima River country, the Palouse River, and the Snake below the Palouse. All the Umatilla country was also claimed by the Columbia, some of whom considered it their oldest headquarters. He did not remember that they said anything of the Wallawalla, but inferred that that region was held by them also.[88] They claimed the Klickitat, Yakima, and Palous were intruders, who had pushed them out or taken possession of their country, and settled down in it. Probably the Wallawalla and Cayuse should be included in the same category, but he did not remember their speaking specially of them. It seems that this invasion took place without any great or prolonged war. Some of the Columbia occasionally fought with the intruders, but others were friendly, and intermarried with them. The Columbia Salish are vague, or do not remember much regarding how the invasion took place, but evidently remember best the fact that certain territory once belonging to them is now occupied by others. 167 131

The original home of the Klickitat and Yakima, he learned, was south of the Columbia River, a considerable distance back. Not many years after the arrival of these people among the Columbia Salish, some kind of a plague spread up Columbia River, killing off many of the tribe living between The Dalles and Priest's Rapids. The strangers, most of whom, it seems, lived chiefly in the mountains, or at least a little back from the main river, were not decimated by it. Some remnants of the Columbia moved farther north, among other bands of the tribe; while others who remained became lost or absorbed by the intruding tribes. After this the Columbia valley from The Dalles east was inhabited by people speaking the Yakima language. [164]

So much from McCrossan.

I obtained the following information from Michel Revais[89] regarding

[87] Probably includes Wenatchi.

[88] Revais had an impression that the early inhabitants of the Wallawalla region were Cayuse, who also lived on the Tucannon and Umatilla.

[89] Michel Revais was official interpreter at Jocko when I was there in 1909. He had then been in the position thirty-five years. His grandfather was François Revais, a French Canadian, who left home when twelve years of age, and settled in St. Louis. When twenty-five years old, he came north, and later entered the employment of the Hudson Bay Company as a clerk. He married a woman half Pend d'Oreille and half Flathead (of part Tunâ'xe descent, belonging to the family of the head chief of the Pend d'Oreilles). His son was Antoine Revais (Michel's father), who married a Kalispel. Michel was thus half Kalispel, one-quarter French, one-eighth Pend d'Oreille (with a dash of Tunâ'xe), and one-eighth Flathead. His father was an employee of the Company most of his life, and was attached for a time to Fort Colville. He moved to Oregon in 1833. Michel, if I remember aright, was born about 1829 or 1830, or at least before his father moved there, and was raised among the employees of the Company near or at Fort Vancouver, and had some schooling there. When very young, he began to work for the Company, and continued to do so, for the most part, until he settled on the reservation at Jocko. For many years he worked with the Colville Brigade, also made a number of trips with the California Brigade, and I think once with the Shoshoni Brigade. Before going to Jocko, he had made his headquarters chiefly at Colville. In 1857, possibly 1856, he made a trip to Thompson River with some former employees of the Company in search of gold. In 1862 (?) he again went north to the Thompson and Shuswap, going as far as La Fontaine, and returning by way of Kamloops and Okanagon. I found Revais well 159 115

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Columbia Salish territory and movements of tribes. It was generally understood or believed, by the early traders and people of the Hudson Bay Company, that Moses' people (the Columbia) had occupied most of the Columbia valley above The Dalles in early times, before the first whites came; and Moses' people themselves asserted this. It was also believed that the Yakima country, or the greater part of it, had been in possession of the same people. Either Moses' people, or the Wenatchi, it is said, were still living in the western part of the Yakima country, near the mountains west of the Yakima, and about the head of Klickitat River, as late perhaps as 1830. Other smaller isolated bands of these people were reported to be living in other parts of the Yakima country, among or near the Yakima, at a much later date.

The Yakima-speaking people were considered to be intruders from south of the Columbia, probably driven north by the Snake. Some of them, such as the Yakima, had obtained a settled home; while others, such as the Klickitat, had no proper home. They had really no country of their own, and travelled to and fro on the north side of the Columbia in the countries of the Tenino, Wishram, Yakima and Cowlitz. They were said to have come from the Tenino or Tyighpam country originally. The Tenino of Columbia River were Tyighpam who had settled there, and they were called Tyighpam, and sometimes Klickitat. The name Tenino was not used long ago; at least, not as a tribal name. Tyighpam also lived in the country south, about two days' journey of a pack-train, back of the Wasco or Upper Chinook, from east of The Dalles to a considerable distance west of Hood River and the Cascades. Some of them were also on the Deschutes, White, and Tygh Rivers; but much of this country belonged to Molala long ago.

It was said that the latter once occupied all the Warm Springs and Deschutes country where the Tyighpam now live, but that they were driven out of there probably by Snake. Their country seems to have been on both sides of the mountains, for a number of them lived in the country east of the Willamette, south of French Prairie, and east and south of Oregon City. The boundary between them and the Kalapuya was considered to be on a line almost due south (perhaps a little east of south) of Oregon City. It was claimed that they extended along the mountains at one time, south to the Klamath. The Kalapuya and Yā'mhĭl occupied the country west of the Molala, from Willamette Falls south, including the Yamhill River, and practically all the upper Willamette to beyond the Kalapuya Mountains on the

informed on most matters concerning the various interior Salish tribes and their neighbors. He had been in the country of almost every tribe in the region between the Cascades and Rockies, from British Columbia down into California, and in some places west and east of these ranges. He spoke French, English, Chinook jargon, sign language, Flathead, Okanagon, and Columbia, and could talk and understand a little of the Thompson, Shuswap, some of the Shahaptian dialects, and others. He had a very retentive memory concerning almost all he had seen and heard, names of persons, places, and dates. He was a veritable storehouse of knowledge concerning persons, and incidents in the lives of fur-traders, and could name and describe all the officers and employees of the Company at and near Fort Vancouver when he was a boy, tell whom they married and all about their children. He would have been a valuable aid to any one writing a history of the old fur-trading days. He was totally blind in 1909, and had been for a number of years.

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Umpqua. Immediately south of them were the 'A'mpɑkwa, on the southern parts of the upper Umpqua River. 167

The Cayuse were said to have come from the upper Grande Ronde originally, or at least they had their headquarters there. About 1850 their headquarters were at Pa'sxa, on a creek at the foot of the mountains south of Wallawalla. At this time they had much intermarried with Wallawalla and Umatilla, and, although much reduced in numbers, were very rich in horses. Some Cayuse-speaking people once lived on the Umatilla and also on the Tucannon. Revais had heard that another kind of people (he thought probably the same as or related to Moses' people) lived somewhere near the mouth of the Palouse; but he had not recollection of having heard Moses' people claim the Umatilla or the Wallawalla valleys. Neither did he know of any Salish tribe called Nekɑtɑmé'uχ having once been in The Dalles region, unless they were part of the Moses' people, who, as already stated, claimed to have extended a long way down the Columbia. The Wasco sometimes laid claim to the country as far east as John Day River, but they never occupied it. The islands in Columbia River between John Day River and the Wallawalla were much used by Wallawalla and Umatilla as fishing-places and for drying salmon about 1849. The traders considered the Wishram and Wasco and all the Upper Chinook to have come originally from the lower river or the coast, as their language was similar to that of the Indians below, and also their dress, manners, and style of living, were similar. 131 101

On the same subject I obtained the following from Peter Kalama.[40] According to tradition current on the Warm Springs Reservation, the Molala formerly occupied all the country where the Warm Springs Reserve is now, and the remains of many of their old lodge-sites may still be seen on the western half of the reserve. These people were driven out of that country by the Snake, who drove them right into the mountains, and later drove them over to the other side, until finally they took refuge on the head of the Siletz River. Molala are said to have been on the upper Hood River also at one time. The Snake also attacked and drove out part of the Kalapuya from the upper Willamette. In early times they also had wars with the Klamath, Modoc, Nez Percé, probably the Wallawalla, and the Wasco and Tyighpam. [72]

The last-named, who appear to have lived at one time somewhere east or southeast of the Molala, were driven north to and within the confines of the Wasco. Some of them settled right among the Wasco, on and near Columbia River, while others spread westerly back of the Upper Chinook as far as Oregon City. The Tyighpam, or Tai'xpam, are the Indians generally called Warm Springs or Simnasho at the present day. The latter name is that of a

[40] Peter Kalama was my interpreter among some of the Coast Salish tribes in 1910. He was then living on the Nisqually reservation. His father was a Kanaka, and his mother Nisqually. He was partly raised and educated at the Government Indian schools in Oregon, and for several years was in the Government service on the Warm Springs Reservation. I found him very intelligent, and generally well informed concerning the Coast Salish of Washington, the tribes of the lower Columbia, and the neighboring tribes of Oregon. He had travelled considerably among various tribes, being a leading man in the Shaker movement. 159 115

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place, and means hawthorn-bushes. The place-name Taix or Tai'x is derived from a legend or myth. A younger brother ascended to the sky at this place, and as he ascended he called, "tai'x, tai'x!" No Indians ever made their home in the Tygh valley, as it is a bad country, full of canyons. The language of the Tyighpam is almost like that of the Klickitat; and the two tribes are said to have been originally one people who lived together, or adjoining each other. Probably the Klickitat moved north before the Tyighpam. In the Snake wars the Snake sometimes attacked in very large parties, and killed many Molala, Tyighpam, and Wasco. Latterly the last two tribes combined, and defeated the Snake in several engagements, killing numbers of them.

As I did not visit any of the Wenatchi bands, I have no data from them relative to movement of tribes. The Wenatchi man I saw told me that he believed people of his tribe inhabited the Yakima country formerly; at least, parts of it, and maybe all. He believed that, generally speaking, they lived in the whole upper Yakima country next to the mountains. In that region now, places have both Yakima and Wenatchi names. The Wenatchi call a place by a name of their own, and the Yakima call the same place by a name in their language. None of my informants from any of the tribes told of any movements of the Nez Percé who seem to have been in their historic habitat for a long time.

The only other tradition of migrations I obtained was that of a considerable number of interior people who crossed the Cascades and settled in the Snuqualmi country, on a prairie about a mile back on the north side from Snoqualmie Falls.[46a] Here the remains of a great number of lodge-sites, most of them underground lodges, could be seen until very lately, about a hundred in all. The name of this place is Soxqo'ko (people gathered together). After intermarrying more or less with the Snuqualmi, and becoming to some extent incorporated with them, part (or the remnants) of these people—consisting of seven families, including the chief—moved down and settled among the Snohomish about five or six generations ago. One old man and two or three descendants are said to have returned across the mountains and settled among the Wenatchi. The names of the seven head men, or heads of families, are preserved by the Snohomish, and show these emigrants to have been interior Salish, the same and similar names being current among men of the Thompson and Wenatchi at the present day. These people were probably Wenatchi, who migrated for some reason or other,—possibly some of those who had been displaced by the coming of the Yakima and Klickitat. Possibly they may have been part of the lost Nekɛtɛmē'ux, as some of the latter are said to have crossed the Cascades to the coast. The names of the seven chief men or heads of families were as given below. I give some Thompson forms of the names, with their meanings, for comparison.

[46a] Mr. Jacobs informs me that on the upper Nisqually a small band of Shahaptians is found, the Mica'l, who speak a dialect closely akin to Pcwa'nwapam, showing that a small movement of Pcwa'nwapam must have occurred in recent years to the west of the Cascades.—F. Boas.

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INTERIOR SALISH NAMES	THOMPSON FORMS
1. Texaidek or Texai'nzk (chief)	Toxei'.nzk (hanging-down belly or hanging or suspended bow), generally considered a woman's name among the Thompson.
2. Tszlexkai'nzm	Tszlĕ.xkai'nzm (standing around the head or top).
3. Cilzkqai'n	Szlekqai'n (spinning around or revolving head).
4. Yo'szmken	Zu'szmken[41] (tied head or top) or Tso'szmken (rattling head).
5. Yā'xolzk	Zā'xelzk or Za'xiāuk (long or tall tree), also nickname for a tall man, like saying "long-legs."
6. Siā'nzmken (returned east when an old man, and settled at Wenatchee)	.sia'nzmken or Zanzmqai'n (travelling in a circle head).
7. Mexkzni'tsa (the youngest)	Mẹx.kainī'tsa[42] (hair hanging loose over top of robe, or head of robe hanging loose).
8. Wztskzla'tce (son of No. 6, returned to east of mountains)	(I do not know of any Thompson equivalent.)

INTERCOURSE AND INTERMARRIAGE

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The people of the Columbia group had for neighbors several tribes of the Coast Salish on the west, including probably, in early times, the Cowlitz. The Thompson and Okanagon were on the north and northeast, and possibly also formerly the Stuwī'x tribe (Athapascan); Sanpoil and Spokane on the east; and bands of Yakima and Palous on the south. As these are said to be comparative new-comers, who displaced the Columbia in the south, it seems that the early neighbors of the latter in this quarter were the Wishram, Wasco, and Chinookan bands, along the Columbia River below The Dalles; about that point, the Nekzzmē'ux; and farther east, where the Columbia Salish held both sides of the valley, probably Waiilatpuan bands on the upper parts of all the southern rivers, east to the Wallawalla or possibly near the Snake.

The very early disposition of tribes around the lower Wallawalla, and from there to the Snake, is not clear, but it seems probable that the Cayuse

[41] Y and z interchange in different dialects.

[42] There is a man of this name among the Okanagon. Forms of Nos. 2-6 are used by living Thompson men. No. 8 is unfamiliar, but seems to be Salish. The suffixes -l'nzk, -qai'n, -kzn, and -itsa are very common in personal names of the interior Salish. tox, tszl, szl, tsos, are common root-parts of names.

extended across the upper Wallawalla to the Tucannon. It is not clear where the Wallawalla were at this time. It would seem that they were below the Cayuse, but at an earlier time they may have been in some other quarter to the south, for it seems unlikely that the Columbia should hold all the Columbia valley down to near The Dalles, including the lower Snake and lower and middle Umatilla (all the Umatilla, according to some) without also holding the lower Wallawalla. If the Cayuse extended in a wedge to the Tucannon, then probably none of the old Columbia boundaries touched those of the Nez Percé except possibly a little corner on the Palouse.

Of the above neighbors of the Columbia, intercourse seems to have been chiefly with interior Salish tribes in late time. In earlier times there was also a good deal of intercourse with Coast Salish, and no doubt more or less with all neighbors. The Methow are said to have intermarried considerably with Okanagon, and they and the Chelan to a less extent with Sanpoil. Although there was a great deal of trade and intercourse with the Spokane, there does not appear to have been very much intermarriage with them. Intermarriage with Thompson was very slight. In early times there was probably a little intermarriage between Wenatchi and some of the Coast tribes, particularly the Snuqualmi. It seems that there was a great deal of intermarriage at one time between Wenatchi bands on the Yakima River and the Yakima. It is likely that part of the Wenatchi inhabitants of the Yakima were absorbed by the Yakima, while others moved away or were killed off by disease and perhaps in wars. The Yakima who lived on the Columbia around White Bluffs are said to have mixed with Columbia Salish, possibly the remnants of the Columbia who formerly lived below Priest's Rapids and White Bluffs. The Columbia say that in early times their people on the Umatilla intermarried with Cayuse or Umatilla. There appears to have been but little intermarriage with Palous, Wallawalla, and Nez Percé, none with Tenino, Tyighpam, and Upper Chinook, and, at least in later times, none with Klickitat.

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MANUFACTURES

WORK IN STONE

The Columbia and Wenatchi are said to have been superior in stone-work and in weaving to the tribes of the Okanagon group; also woven articles and objects made of stone were more plentiful among them than similar articles among the Salish tribes to the east and northeast. Besides arrow-heads, spear-heads, knife-blades, and drills, which were all chipped of various kinds of stone found in their country, many stone mortars, pestles, hammers, adzes, and celts were made by them. It seems that more stone-work was done by the people on the west side of the Columbia, where various kinds of good stones were more abundant, than on the east side. Arrow-heads, spear-heads, and knife-blades, according to description, appear to have been of the same form as those used by the Thompson. The common materials employed in the making of these as well as some other implements of stone were found scattered over the surface of the country. Real quarries were scarce. The principal stones used for arrow-heads, and the like, were quartz, agate, jasper, light and dark obsidian, red, yellow, and mottled chalcedony. Black arrow-stone or glassy basalt is said to have been scarce in most places. Stone was flaked with instruments of antler and bone, similar to those used by the Thompson. Most knives had leaf-shaped blades and were double-edged, but a few had triangular blades and were single-edged. If a piece of stone was unsuitable for working both edges, only one edge was worked. Celts and clubs were made of greenish mottled stone, probably serpentine and jade, and some of the former were long and double-edged. Skin-scrapers, large and small, for use with one or both hands, were of flaked arrow-stone or of thin pieces broke.. from boulders. In shape they were the same as those of the Thompson. Stone arrow-smoothers and whetstones seem to have differed in no way from those of the Thompson.

Stone mortars of various diameters and depth of pits were made, and used for catching grease drippings and for grinding paint, tobacco, roots, dried fish, dried meat, and seeds. Flat stones were used as anvils, for crushing bones or for the extraction of marrow, and probably for other purposes. Some small mortars had pits on both sides, and some mortars were ornamented with incised rings, short incised lines around the rims, and other kinds of ornamentation. Elongated hammer-stones of a dark tough rock were used for battering and shaping hammers and pestles. Stone pestles were common. Some were short, for one hand, and others over a foot long were used with both hands (one I saw was eighteen inches long). Pestles for berries were made of wood, and a great many mortars, especially those used for mashing roots, were made of wood incased in hide. Hand-hammers with wide flat bases were common, and appear to have resembled those of the Thompson. Some had deep and others shallow striking-heads, and a few had bases rather square in shape. The tops of some were hat-shaped, like the tops of many

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Thompson hammers (see Smith,[43] figs. 23, 24, and 27); while others were pointed or practically headless. Both of these styles of top are said to have been common. Most of the hand-hammers are said to have had small flat tops. A few hammers, pestles, and clubs are said to have had carved heads. Stone mauls were used. Some of these were grooved. It seems that bone and stone tools for the dressing of skins of the same kind as those used by the Thompson were in vogue. The adze-shaped scraper employed by the Cœur d'Alêne and eastern Salish was also used by the Columbia Salish, but probably not by the Wenatchi. Pipes were made of steatite and other soft stone. Stone heads of war-clubs were sometimes grooved.

WORK IN BONE

Antler and wooden wedges were used for splitting wood, felling trees, and the like. Needles of various sizes, awls, fish-spear points, and a few arrow and spear points, were made of bone, split and rubbed into shape. A number of the specimens discovered by Smith at Priest's Rapids and some other parts of the Columbia-Yakima country, within the historic habitat of the Wenatchi and Columbia Salish, may be referred to as types of some of the things above mentioned, although I obtained no very detailed descriptions from the Indians of any of them.[44] Most of the specimens figured by Smith are from the historic habitat of the Moses-Columbia and Wenatchi, and nearly all the rest are from the area claimed by the Columbia Salish and Wenatchi as having been at one time inhabited by bands of their tribes. Both antler and bone were used for arrow-flakers.

WEAVING

It seems that all the methods of weaving mats, bags, baskets, and the like, common to the Thompson, were employed by the Columbia Salish. Twine was of Indian-hemp and sinew.

MATS

Woven tule, rush, and bark mats were made in great numbers, and seem to have been of the same styles as those of the Thompson. Sewed tule mats were at one time the only lodge-covers. The principal bark used in mat-making appears to have been willow. Sage-bark was used a little. It is doubtful if any mat-pressers were used; and it seems that they were never employed by the Thompson, although the Lower Fraser and Lower Lillooet tribes did use them.

[43] Harlan I. Smith, *Archæology of Lytton, British Columbia* (Publications of the Jesup North Pacific Expedition, I, pt. 3 [Memoirs of the American Museum of Natural History, II, 1898-1900]).

[44] See Harlan I. Smith, *Archæology of the Yakima Valley* (Anthropological Papers, American Museum of Natural History, 6, 1910, pt. 1), figs. 1-5 for chipped stone points; fig. 12, bone points; figs. 13-16, notched and grooved pebbles and sinkers; figs. 18, 116, stone mortars and dishes; figs. 21-25, short stone pestles or hammers; figs. 30, 32, 35, 36, long stone pestles and rollers; figs. 41, 44, hammer-stones; fig. 45, stone celts; figs. 47, 48, stone drills; figs. 49-55, stone scrapers; figs. 62, 68, stone clubs; fig. 74, copper beads; fig. 76, shell beads; figs. 78-80, 82-92, pendants of copper, shell, bone, etc.; figs. 95, 96, bracelets; figs. 70-72, weaving; figs. 106, 128, stone pipes.

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BAGS

Bags of dressed skin and rawhide were much used. Parfleches and square hide bags with long fringes, many of them elaborately painted, came into use with the advent of the horse, and were made in considerable numbers. Indian-hemp twine, and bark of various trees and bushes, were materials of which other bags were woven. Flat bags of the Nez Percé type were made in great numbers. Bags woven of rushes, and others of matting, were common, some of the rush bags being used for berries and pemmican. It is said that bags made of Indian-hemp and covered with grass were very common. They seem to have differed from the flat bags. The bands of Indians living in the more arid districts made and used more bags than those inhabiting wooded country, who made mostly baskets. Willow-bark was much used for the weaving of coarse bags. Sometimes fringes of leather bags were wrapped with dyed quills. Fringes were also ornamented with beads and feathers. Some soft baskets were formerly made, chiefly in the southern area. They were probably very similar to those made by the Cœur d'Alêne, Nez Percé, other Shahaptian, and The Dalles tribes. The Moses-Columbia gradually ceased making baskets after they took up buffalo-hunting. - Bark baskets and bark trays were made, but I did not learn much about them.

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WOVEN CLOTHING

Blankets woven of strips of rabbit and other skins were made. Some called sta'ke, woven of goat's wool, were made by the Wenatchi, particularly by the Chelan and bands who lived near the habitat of the goat. Some of these blankets were decorated with stripes of various colors, and sometimes cross-lines and zigzags. A great many woven caps of the so-called Nez Percé type were made and used by women. They were of Indian-hemp twine covered with grass, and most of them had zigzag designs. A few other women's caps of coarser weave were made of willow-bark.

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HOUSE AND HOUSEHOLD

LODGES

Nearly all the people wintered in the lower valleys along the main rivers, as the climate was milder, and they were near their main supplies of salmon and other things. Winter camps in places where wood was scarce depended chiefly on drift-wood. The people of some arid places along the Columbia depended on driftwood even for the poles of their lodges and their scaffolds for drying fish, and the like. The underground house or semi-underground earth-covered lodge was used by nearly all the Columbia Salish in the winter-time, because it was considered warm and very economical of firewood. It seems that they were constructed in the same way as among the Thompson, only the great majority had the entrance on one side, generally the south or sunny side, or the side towards the river or the water. Ascent and descent were by a short ladder or notched log. A few had entrance only through the smoke-hole, and a long ladder like the common kind among the Thompson. It seems that these were used chiefly in the north among the Wenatchi. Some families wintered in tents or conical lodges, the same as those used in summer, but with double and treble coverings of mats. Throughout the winter, parties of men, sometimes accompanied by women, made short journeys into the mountains for hunting and procuring fresh meat. As a rule, brush lodges were used on those trips.

Much of the summer and fall season was spent on the higher grounds, hunting, root-digging, and berrying. The summer lodges of the tribe were of two common shapes, the oblong or lean-to, and the conical. The latter is said to have been most used. The former was in large measure merely a shelter at fishing and gathering places in fair weather. Small lean-tos were often used as temporary lodges on journeys, as they required fewer poles, fewer mats, and any kind of poles would do. In windy places extra poles were laid on the top of the lodge-mats, and steadied at the butt end with stones. This accounts for the circles of stones on tent-sites. Sweat-houses were the same as those of the Thompson; and caches or cellars were also the same, consisting of circular pits roofed over with poles, bark, brush, and earth. The skin tent replaced the mat tent among the Columbia Salish living east of Columbia River, after hunting began on the Plains. Conical lodges with square smoke-holes were sometimes used by the Wenatchi, and possibly by the Columbia. The Yakima and Thompson also used them. A menstrual underground lodge was used by the women of the Columbia in winter. As far as I know, it did not differ much, if at all, from that described for the Nez Percé.[45] I did not learn much about its distribution, but it seems to have been little used to the north, and therefore it is possibly a southern or Shahaptian type. Some women's summer lodges were made like a half-tent or a small tent open on

[45] H. J. Spinden, *The Nez Percé Indians* (Memoirs, American Anthropological Association, 2, 1908, 3).

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one side. A three-pole foundation was used. This style of lodge was also used by some people when travelling. 343

HOUSEHOLD UTENSILS

Fire-drills were the same as those of the Thompson. Spoons were made of horn and wood. Mats, grass, pine-needles, and brush were used on the floors of lodges, and for lying and sitting on. Some bowls were made of mountain-sheep horn and of knots of wood. 372 415 352

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CLOTHING AND ORNAMENTS

DRESS AND CLOTHES

The clothing of the Columbia Salish, as far as I could learn, varied somewhat in different bands, but, on the whole, it seems to have been about the same as among the Sanpoil. Robes were of dressed skin painted, but more generally of skins of deer, fawn, marmot, and the like, dressed in the hair, and sewed together. Marmot robes, woven goat's-wool robes, and woven rabbit-skin robes, were much used by the Wenatchi, Chelan, and western and northwestern bands. Small robes, cloaks, and capes of fur and of dressed leather, were also used by both sexes. Ponchos of deer-skin, coyote-skin, and the like, were also worn. 291 281

Women wore long dresses with and without sleeves; those with sleeves, however, but rarely, as sleeves were a modern innovation. The common style seems to have been similar to the Yakima dress figured by Wissler.[46] A few dresses retained the tail-pieces of the skin. Some dresses were of three deer-skins. Two skins sewed together formed the skirt. I did not learn definitely whether the tail-ends were down or up, but it seems that in most cases they were down. The third skin was doubled and sewed to the others transversely, forming the yoke or shoulder-part. A slit for the head was made in the middle of the one forming the yoke. Sometimes, instead of using tie-strings, the slit was drawn together at the neck with draw strings. Fringes followed the joining of the yoke with the skirt-part across the body. All the edges of dresses were generally fringed. In the winter some dresses retaining the hair were used. Some old women and young girls wore fringed bodices instead of dresses. Short vests of fur, laced at one side or at both sides (or at the back?) were used by both sexes in the winter-time. Some women in the summer-time wore short sleeveless shirts of light leather in conjunction with bodices.

Short leggings of dressed skin of deer, antelope, and the like, were worn. Fur leggings were used sometimes instead of buckskin ones by both sexes in the winter-time. Long mittens, similar to those of the Cœur d'Alêne, were used in cold weather. They were generally made of coyote-skin, reached to the armpits, and were fastened with a loop or string around the neck. In the winter-time sometimes sleeves of coyote-skin were used in the same way, especially by people who wore sleeveless shirts or vests and capes. It seems that they were tied above the elbow.

Women wore conical grass caps of the Nez Percé type; and others, more pointed ones woven of willow bark. Many caps, however, were made of buck-skin. Head-bands were used by both sexes.

The men wore long leggings of dressed skin, breech-clouts (some used aprons instead), and shirts with and without sleeves, mostly the latter. Shirts

[46] Clark Wissler, *Costumes of the Plains Indians* (Anthropological Papers, American Museum of Natural History, 17, 1915, 39-91), fig. 18.

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with sleeves were considered modern. I obtained very few details of the cuts and shapes of men's shirts. Both men's shirts and women's dresses opened and fastened at the neck. Feather head-dresses of various styles were common among men; and in later days the Plains style of feather bonnet, which was a little different from the old Columbia style, came into common use. Caps set with horns of buffalo, deer, sheep, and goats, were worn by men. Caps of coyote, fox, wolf, rabbit, bear, and other fur, were used a good deal in winter. In later days buffalo robes largely superseded other robes, cloaks, and ponchos, for both sexes. Moccasins were of dressed deer-skin and elk-skin. A few rain-cloaks of rush matting were used in some places. 291 281 301

Ornamentation of clothing was by fringing, puncturing, pinking, the use of tassels of hair and shells, quill and bead embroidery, and painting. White earth was used for cleaning clothes. Some men's shirts were embroidered with strips of quill or bead work across the fronts of the sleeves and across the chest. Some had a round figure on the breast; others had semicircular or triangular ornamentation below the throat or on the breast; and many had a wide beaded stripe down the back. Women's dresses had one or more beaded or quilled lines around the bottom. The Thompson formerly used all these styles also. Women's buckskin caps were ornamented with beads and quills applied in lines, zigzags, and circles, and some of them were painted. 291 531

ORNAMENTS AND PERSONAL ADORNMENT

It seems that the Columbia Salish were noted for having an abundance of shell and other ornaments. Necklaces, pendants, ear-rings, nose-pins, hair-ornaments, and the like, were of shell. Dentalium and other ocean shells were common. Flat disk-shaped shells and bone beads were much used for necklaces, and beads or cylinders of rolled copper. There were various shapes of copper, stone, and other pendants. Tooth and claw pendants were common, and some of them served as charms. Necklaces of claws of bear and other animals, and others of teeth of elk and horse, were used. Some pendants were ornamented with incised designs. Shells and pieces of deer-hoofs were attached to fringes of clothing. Bracelets made of bent copper were used, also those made of beads, teeth, and claws on strings. Combs were made of syringa-wood, and were the same in shape as those of the Thompson. A few antler and bone combs were used. Painting of the face and body was universal, and some people tattooed. 301 321 304

SUBSISTENCE

FOODS

The food of the Columbia Salish, and the manner of gathering and preparing it, seem to have been about the same as among the surrounding interior tribes. Nutlets of pine, and it seems also of oak, were gathered; also hazelnuts, and seeds of *Balsamorrhiza* and some other plants. Some roots were cooked, mashed in mortars, and made into cakes. Berry-cakes and moss-cakes were also made. Camas was much used. Shell-fish were eaten to a slight extent. A little meat pemmican was made, and plenty of salmon pemmican. Root-diggers were of hard-wood, with handles of wood, horn, and antler. 252 222

HUNTING AND WEAPONS OF THE CHASE

Bows were made of juniper, syringa, and other woods, and were of the same types as those of the Thompson. It is said that the flat type of bow[47] was the most common; but the double-curved bow, and all together some four or five types of bow similar to those of the Thompson, were in use. The best bows were sinew-backed and covered with snake-skin, and many were painted and ornamented with feathers and quill-work. Arrows appear to have been the same as those of other Salish tribes. 224 411

Some bands of the Columbia Salish did more hunting, and others more fishing. The principal game hunted were deer, elk, antelope, sheep, goat, bear, marmot, and the like, according to the environment of the band. Some bands had no antelope in their country, and others no sheep and goats. The methods of hunting appear to have been the same as those of other interior Salish tribes. Soon after the beginning of the last century, the Columbia Salish, especially those from the east of the river, began to make regular journeys to the country of the Flathead whom they joined in hunting buffalo on the Plains. They continued to go on these journeys until the buffalo became scarce. Moses Coulee, Grand Coulee, and Moses Lake were favorite camping-places of the Moses-Columbia at certain seasons. The last-named place was a favorite resort for obtaining eggs, and ducks and geese. 224 226

FISHING AND FISHING UTENSILS

Fishing appears to have been conducted in the same way as among the Thompson. Salmon were caught with dip-nets from platforms. Large nets were used in some places. Single, treble, and possibly double-pronged fish-spears were in use. Small sinkers were employed for lines, and larger ones for nets. Traps were used for catching fish among the Wenatchi. 226

People gathered in the salmon-fishing season at a number of points along Columbia River where there was strong current, and caught and cured large 226 251

[47] See James Teit, *The Thompson Indians of British Columbia* (Publications of the Jesup North Pacific Expedition, I, pt. 4, [Memoirs of the American Museum of Natural History, II, 1898-1900]).

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quantities of salmon, which were dried in the wind. Some oil was put up in fish-skin bottles or bags. Salmon pemmican was often put up in special woven rush sacks, and in others like those sometimes used for berries.[48] Some say a special kind of rush bag was used for salmon pemmican, but I did not obtain a detailed description. Cured salmon and other foods were cached in the ordinary pits or cellars, which were lined with grass or bark. Usually certain cellars were used solely for fish; while, roots, and the like, were stored in others.

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[48] A specimen of such a bag is in the National Museum of Canada, Ottawa, Canada, No. VI.M.80.

TRAVEL, TRANSPORTATION AND TRADE

CANOES

It seems that long ago canoes were very scarce. Pole-rafts were used, and a very few small dug-out canoes, along the Columbia River. The latter were of a shovel-nose shape, or at least alike at both ends. Rafts and shallow canoe-shaped vessels made of rushes and bundles of mats were in use in some places. Bark canoes were employed by some of the Wenatchi. They appear to have been of the ordinary Salish-Kutenai type. Along the Columbia no bark suitable for canoes could be obtained. 601

SNOWSHOES

Snowshoes were used, and appear to have been of two kinds of filling, like those of the Thompson (see *The Thompson Indians*, Figs. 239, 241). Those like Fig. 239 were the most common. No snowshoes with cross-sticks were used. 481

HORSES

Horses were introduced at an earlier date than among the Sanpoil and Okanagon, but for a long time were not well distributed. Even as late as 1830, some individuals and families of the Columbia Salish had very few; while others, particularly the chiefs and leading men, had very large bands. The major portions of these large bands ran wild on the ranges and plateau east of the Columbia; and the Indians spent a great deal of time running, driving, corraling, and watching them. Young men of the Moses-Columbia took pleasure in doing this, and, besides, were remunerated with horses by the owners. Large numbers of horses were corraled and broken before starting for the buffalo country. Chief Moses' father is said to have had over five hundred horses, according to some, and over one thousand, according to others. Horse-stealing was very common; and young men spent much time on the horse-ranges, looking for and driving off horse-raiders from other tribes. It is said that the Yakima were the principal thieves. 231 177 519 231

It is not clear where the Columbia Salish obtained their first horses. Some claim that the first horses were small, and most of them pintos. Revais said that most horses of the Cayuse tribe were pintos. Naturally tribes not well supplied with horses would at first sell the smallest and inferior ones to their neighbors. It seems probable that the Columbia Salish procured their first horses from two sources, the Cayuse-Wallawalla and the Spokane. The families who continued to make their home in the river-valley, and spent most of their time fishing, probably had less use for horses, and adopted them later, than other families who lived more by hunting. At any rate, there appears to have been a good deal of difference in wealth between different families, more so than in the tribes to the east and north. Some had great quantities of skins, clothes, and horses; while others were very poor. The Moses-Columbia were great horse people. 556

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TRADE

The Columbia and Wenatchi were the principal traders of the Salish people in the west, and large numbers of them went annually to The Dalles, where they traded with the Wishram, Wasco, and other tribes. It seems that long after the tribe was pushed out of the country near The Dalles and farther north, their trading-parties still claimed and maintained right of way through every part of the country to The Dalles. It is said that large, well-armed, and well-equipped parties of Wenatchi and Moses-Columbia annually passed through the Yakima country to The Dalles; and some other of their parties, in conjunction with Spokane, went south on the opposite side of the river, through the Wallawalla and Cayuse countries. The common route, however, was on the west side of the river, through the Yakima country. 439 487

Trading-parties of Wenatchi also went toward the coast by way of the Yakima, Snoqualmie, and other passes through the Cascades, where they traded with Snuqualmi, Snohomish, Nisqually, Puyallup, and Cowlitz. I obtained a tradition of the first horse seen by the Coast tribes. It was brought over by Wenatchi. A great impetus was given to trading by the introduction of the horse. Root-cakes, dried berries, buffalo robes, and many other heavy or bulky packs, which in former days it did not pay to carry, were now transported across the mountains. Before the introduction of the horse, the trading with Coast tribes was chiefly in light and valuable articles. Pipes, tobacco, ornaments of certain kinds, Indian-hemp, dressed skins, bows, and some other things, were sold to the Coast tribes, the chief articles received in return being shells of various kinds. Some horses were also sold to the Coast people. Trading at The Dalles was in skins, fur, fish, oil, roots, pemmican, feathers, robes, clothing, shells, slaves, and horses. On the whole, products of the lower Columbia, the Coast, and the southern or Oregon country, were exchanged for products of the interior east and north. 439 487 173

Many of the products obtained by the Columbia Salish at The Dalles and west of the Cascades were carried across country and sold to the Sanpoil, Okanagon, and others, at a profit. The Columbia also sold horses to these tribes, and large quantities of shells, and shell and bone beads. The beads and dentalium shells were on strings, and were sold by measurement. Fresh-water shells were used as pendants, ear-rings, and the like, by all the tribes, but the larger, bright-colored shells of two or three kinds, procured from the coast, were much more valued. It seems that the Sanpoil and Okanagon also obtained most of their copper and many stone implements, such as greenstone celts, adzes, war-clubs, and the like, from the Columbia Salish, who also sold some coiled basketry and goat's-wool blankets to them. There was very little direct trading with the Thompson, the Okanagon doing most of this trade. Minor trading-centers were near the mouth of the Okanagon and the mouth of the Snake. The Columbia also did considerable trading with the Spokane. Products from as far south as the Modoc, Rogue River, and Shasta reached The Dalles, also from a considerable distance north and south on the coast, and from the Plains.

Revais said that the greatest intertribal trading-place was at The Dalles. 366

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The people there lived entirely by fishing and trading. They bought almost anything brought to them, and resold it again.[1] Grande Ronde, in eastern Oregon, was an important trading-place. Other places were the mouth of the Cowlitz, near Scappoose or about opposite the mouth of the Lewis, near Oregon City, the western Grande Ronde, the middle Nisqually, the upper Puyallup, near the mouth of the Okanagon, near Colville, and near the mouth of the Snake; but there were other minor trading-places in the territories of most tribes. Considerable trade from the west and southwest of Oregon and from the Klamath [River?] passed through the Kalapuya to Oregon City and thence to The Dalles. There was also an old trade-route from the coast by way of the Nehalem to near Scappoose,[49] whence it branched north up the Cowlitz, and east up the Columbia. Nehalem, Cowlitz, Tlatskanai, Chinook, and various tribes, traded on the Columbia at this point. Things traded, say, at the Grande Ronde and Okanagon were retraded at The Dalles. Products from the coasts of Washington and Oregon, Puget Sound, the plateaus of the interior to the north and east, the Plains, the interior of Oregon and northern California, reached The Dalles.

Slaves were very numerous on the lower Columbia and at The Dalles long ago. They were boys and girls and some adults. All the Oregon tribes dealt more or less in slaves, and so did the Coast people. The Dalles people always bought slaves and resold them. Of the slaves who reached The Dalles, a few were Snake, some were from the Coast, and others from California. Some were from Rogue River and the Shasta, by way of the Klamath and Kalapuya, who bought them from other tribes or captured them in war. Probably nearly all were captives of war in the first place, but some were slaves' children and grandchildren. There were no interior Salish or Shahaptian people kept, bought, or sold as slaves, either at The Dalles or elsewhere.

Shells, beads, Hudson Bay blankets, robes, clothes, horses, and fish were probably the principal things traded, also slaves, canoes, dressed skins, furs, and the like. Furs sold by The Dalles people to the Hudson Bay Company were all procured from other tribes. In later days they had few for sale, as the trapping-tribes traded directly with various posts. Some people of the following tribes came to The Dalles in the trading season: Columbia, Spokane, Yakima, Klickitat, Tyighpam, Wallawalla, Umatilla, Cayuse, and sometimes Palous, Nez Percé, Klamath, Molala, and Kalapuya. On the whole, the exchange of products at The Dalles was south and southwest *versus* north and northeast. The Wishram and Dalles people generally, and the Kalapuya, were always more or less hostile to the white traders. They resented the direct trade with neighboring tribes, considering that they should by rights act as middlemen.

[49] Revais was of the opinion that a tribe or at least some people speaking a different language from the Chinook lived formerly on the south side of the Columbia, in the Scappoose region. Chinook people lived above and below them, and perhaps among them. He thought they spoke Nehalem or a language like Nehalem, and they may have been related to the Nehalem, Cowlitz, or tribes of that stock. They were not Tlatskanai. It seems not unlikely that Nehalem or some Coast Salish tribe may have been there formerly. Possibly the Nehalem may have extended formerly to this part of the Columbia. It seems certain they had a main trade-route through there.

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WARFARE

WEAPONS OF OFFENSE AND DEFENSE

The weapons of war appear to have been the same as among other neighboring Salish tribes, and consisted of bows and arrows, and short war-spears with points of bone, antler, and flaked stone; double-edged war-knives of antler, flaked stone, and in later days iron; clubs in one piece of wood, antler, and stone. Club-handles and handles of war-knives were often ornamented with short incised lines, crossed lines, zigzags, and occasionally the tops were carved in rings or animals' heads. Round-headed clubs encased in skin, with wooden handles, and others with only a handle of hide, were used, and also tomahawks or spike clubs. Shields and armor of several kinds were in use. The former were circular, and oblong or oval. I did not learn whether lances for throwing were in use. The Snake are said to have used them, and the Wasco adopted them from the Snake. Low embankments of earth, and trenches, were used in warfare by the Columbia Salish and Okanagon, and probably by other tribes, at places where they could be made with little trouble. Usually they were made on the sides of a canyon or some other commanding place to ambush enemies or shoot at parties passing underneath. Rarely were they made as defenses of villages. Sometimes piles of rocks partly covered with grass, bush, or earth were used for like purpose. Underground passages and pits and forts of logs were used in a few places.

WARS

As far as I heard, very little regular war was carried on with neighboring tribes, at least during the last century. It seems that the Columbia Salish never attacked the Thompson, Okanagon, Sanpoil, Spokane, Wasco, and Wishram, and only rarely other interior tribes. Occasionally war-parties of the eastern Columbia crossed the Cascades, and attacked and plundered some of the Coast tribes, but the Wenatchi were generally friendly with the latter. Long ago, perhaps about a hundred and fifty years ago, some wars were carried on against the Yakima and Cayuse, and probably the Wallawalla and Palous. On rare occasions war-parties of Nez Percé attacked the Columbia, and Columbia parties went to the Wallawalla and Nez Percé. During the last century, war with the Yakima consisted of fighting between small parties engaged in horse-stealing. It seems that the Yakima at one time were not as well provided with horses as the Columbia. Kweĕ'tca (Blue-Robe), my chief informant, had scars he had received in fighting a party of Yakima who had stolen some of his father's horses. He killed two of the Yakima, and recaptured the horses. Almost all the Moses-Columbia band went to the Plains buffalo-hunting. They were always well mounted, and were noted as skillful and intrepid fighters. When on these excursions, they had frequent encounters with the Blackfoot and members of other Plains tribes. Kweĕ'tca's father

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was killed in battle with the Blackfoot. According to information gathered 721
from the Upper Chinook, parties of Salish (probably Columbia and some
Spokane) came down Columbia River in canoes on combined trading and war
expeditions. Some of them went as far as Fort Vancouver, marauding on
the way.

In the Yakima war against the whites, some of the southern Wenatchi 648
bands appear to have helped the Yakima and Klickitat in fighting both east 721
and west of the Cascades. Some of the so-called Yakima chiefs and war
chiefs spoken of as prominent in the war had Wenatchi (Salish) names.
Some of the Indians engaged in the attack on Seattle are said to have been
Wenatchi. Probably bands who joined the Yakima were those who adjoined
the Yakima and had more or less Yakima blood.

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PASTIMES AND SMOKING

Many games and pastimes were the same as among the Sanpoil, Okanagon, and other tribes. A favorite summer rendezvous for horse-racing and playing games was at Moses Lake. In later days some of the Umatilla and Spokane went there to meet the Columbia. 524

SMOKING AND PIPES

Smoking-ceremonies were in vogue, and stone pipes were made in large numbers. It seems that the common kind of pipe in use long ago was tubular. The bowls of some were long, and of others short. Wooden stems were used with all. Pipes were ornamented with raised rings, flanges, and incised lines filled with red, white, and yellow paint. The most valuable pipes were of a semi-transparent greenish soapstone, similar to those of the Thompson Indians. Pipes of catlinite were also highly prized. Other colors of pipe-stone were white, gray, brown, black, and mottled. It is said that the elbow shape of pipe was common, at least at the end or in the latter part of the eighteenth century. Some pipes had small "hatchets" underneath the shank, close to the elbow.[80] These were occasionally perforated for attachment of ornaments and charms or used for strings by means of which the stem or mouthpiece was attached to the pipe. Simple bowl-pipes were also used. Some of these were similar in shape to short tubular pipes, except that the small end was closed, and the mouthpiece was set into the side instead of the small end.[81] Others had the bowl projecting upwards at right angles from a square base or platform which was bored for the stem.[82] The disk-shaped pipe[83] was fairly common among the Columbia Salish, as well as among the Sanpoil and Okanagon, but as far as I know, it was not used by the Thompson and Shuswap. Revais or some other informant told me that it was also used by the Nez Percé and Cayuse. Bowls of a few pipes were carved in human and animal forms. The tobacco appears to have been the same as that of the Thompson and Okanagon. The kinnikinick used seems to have been bearberry-leaves and red-willow bark. Pipes were occasionally made of antler, wood, and clay. 276

[80] See Teit, *The Thompson Indians*, fig. 306; Smith, *Archaeology of the Yakima Valley*, fig. 113.
[81] See Teit, *loc. cit.*, fig. 275.
[82] See Smith, *loc. cit.*, fig. 113; Teit, *loc. cit.*, fig. 273.
[83] See Smith, *loc. cit.*, fig. 107-109.

SOCIAL CUSTOMS

The social organization of the Columbia appears to have been similar to that which obtains among the Thompson and Okanagon. There are no traces of clans, secret societies, or hereditary nobility 601 565 575

CHIEFS

Chieftancy in some bands was hereditary, but most chiefs were such because of pre-eminence in wealth, war, and other things. Among the Moses-Columbia, men distinguished themselves formerly by stealing horses and killing enemies. They took scalps, and kept count of the number. They counted coup, and at dances related their deeds in war and how many persons they had struck, wounded, killed, or scalped. A man who had killed many enemies or a man who had become a great warrior and was known to be brave, was made a chief by the people. The man who had killed the greatest number was considered the greatest chief and became the head war-chief and leader of large war-expeditions. These customs are said to have been common to all the neighboring interior tribes. 622 554

SIGN LANGUAGE

A sign language was in vogue in early times. Later it was supplemented or modified by the Plains sign language. The Chinook jargon came into common use after the arrival of the fur-traders. The Columbia Salish, being traders and travellers, were adepts in both. A number of them spoke languages like the Okanagon and Spokane, and some were more or less proficient in Yakima, Wallawalla, and Blackfoot. 198

BABY CARRIERS

Board carriers appear to have been in general use, and it seems that in some places bark carriers were employed as well, especially for very young infants. Carrier-bags, seemingly of the Thompson type, were used for children who had out-grown the board carriers. Navel-string pouches were in use, and conduits for male children. 854

HEAD DEFORMATION

It seems that people of some bands, especially the southern bands of Wenatchi and Moses-Columbia, flattened infants' heads to a slight extent, a skin pad being used for the purpose. However, most of the Columbia did not intentionally flatten the head. 856

NAMES

Names among the Columbia were similar to those among both sexes of the Okanagon and Thompson, and the same name-suffixes were used. A number of men's names are the same in all three tribes, such as Kweē'tca 561

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(Blue-Robe), used also by Okanagon and Thompson. According to the Indians, persons having the same name are of a common descent, and the name must have been inherited through one line or another from the same ancestor. On p. 109 is given a list of a few names, probably Wenatchi, with translations.

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BURIAL

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The Columbia interred their dead in the earth and in rock-slides. Earth burials were in knolls, low mounds, edges of sandy terraces, and generally wherever digging was easy. Graves were lined with mats, pieces of bark, and slabs of stone, where these were convenient. Nearly all earth burials were covered with a heap of stones or encircled with a ring of stones, and further marked by a small pole. It seems that tents were not erected over graves, except occasionally among the most southern bands along Columbia River. Canoes were hauled up on the top of the graves by some people, but this does not seem to have been general.

Rock-slide burials were common. A place was cleared at the bottom of the slide for the body, a pole was stuck up at the head of the corpse, and the latter covered to a depth of three or four feet by pulling down the slide-rock on it. Sometimes a place was cleared of rock, or a shallow hole made in the ground a short distance from the bottom of the slide, the body placed in the cleared space, and covered to a considerable depth by pulling the rocks from the slide over it. This formed a little rocky mound at the foot of the rock-slide. Poles or sticks were erected at all graves. In small bluffs near the larger camps, burials were sometimes made in the slide-rock in tiers from bottom to top of the slide. Graves were made at irregular distances in a row at the base of the slide. When all the available room had been used up there, rocks were pulled down and levelled off over the old graves, and a new row made above; and so on as far up the bluff as required or as was possible. Thus the rows of graves formed narrow irregular terraces on the side of the bluff. Bodies were flexed, wrapped in matting, and usually buried on the side. The method of interment depended on the environment. If slide-rock was at hand, it was used, and if not, burial was made in the earth. Some articles were placed with the dead, chiefly necklaces, pipes, and the like. Some things were buried in the graves, while others were suspended from the grave-pole. The Indians say that the piling of rocks above a grave was to keep animals from digging up the corpse, which in some places was buried rather shallow.

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RELIGION

The religious ideas of the Columbia appear to have been similar to those of other interior Salish tribes. Shamans were numerous, and some were credited with great powers. 771 756

DANCES

A religious or praying dance, a marrying-dance, and a manitou-dance were performed. Some years ago the round-dance or squaw-dance was introduced from the east. Besides the dances mentioned above, and the war and scalp dance, some other minor dances were performed formerly. These included a dance before going horse-stealing, a snow-dance, a sun-dance(not that of the Plains), and some dances of women simply for amusement. I did not obtain details regarding any of the dances and ceremonies. The scalp-dance was held on the return of a successful war-party. The scalps were exhibited held on the points of sticks, and each warrior had to report the deeds he had done. The Columbia Salish, it seems, were noted for holding great war-dances and scalp-dances from time to time. In many cases the dances were simply for show and practice, and not actually before and after wars. Sometimes at intervals between the dances warriors related their exploits, and scalps were exhibited. The Columbia state that the Thompson, Okanagon, Sanpoil, and all tribes held these dances in former times to a greater or less extent. 535

MYTHOLOGY

Coyote was the culture-hero and trickster, and most stories seem to center around him. It seems that a few origin myths, creation myths, and nature myths occur, but no ancestor myths. Probably stories of Old-One occur, but I am not certain of this. There is a long salmon myth, and there are stories of ascents to the sky, and possibly others relating adventures underground. Animal myths are common. I collected no stories from the Columbia Salish, but it appears that even now a large amount of valuable mythological material can be obtained. Much of this will have passed away in a few years, and what remains will be obscure, and hard to obtain. 773

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For oral historical traditions relating to the Columbia and Wenatchi, see entire source.